1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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Sacrificers approach dolmen adorned with insignia of rank and carrying a club and wooden pig-killer.

For this purpose he has donned all the insignia proper to his previously acquired rank. In his hair he wears hawks' or cocks' feathers, black or white according to rank, together with red hibiscus flowers and leaves of golden fern. His biceps are adorned with shell-bead armlets worked in geometric designs representing a hawk's face and other symbols, and on his wrists he wears as bracelets the tusks of boars sacrificed on former occasions. His face is painted black. In his left hand he carries a club, and in his right hand a wooden pig-killer (see Plate X, 2) carved out of a forked branch of which the longer arm is the handle and the shorter the striking part which ends bluntly so as to crack the victim's skull or at least stun it so that it can be despatched later. The handle, roughly one foot three inches long, is incised with geometric patterns, and the fork often carved to represent a man's head, of which the prolonged chin stretches towards the striking end. The whole pig-killer is painted red, yellow and blue, and the magnificence of the carving varies with the sacrificer's rank.

Tusked boar sacrificed on dolmen. Its soul enters the sacrificer, whereon he assumes his new title and rank.

I did not myself record the actual position of the boar at the moment of sacrifice. Godefroy, however, describes how it is lifted on to the dolmen, where it is made to stand on its hind-feet, while its fore-feet—its arms as the natives say—rest on the fore-arm of the man about to sacrifice it.[1]

It is at this moment of striking, whether the victim is actually killed on the spot or merely stunned to be despatched later, that the title already bestowed on the tusked boar devolves, with the supposed passage of its soul, upon the sacrificer himself.[2]

Thus, though the sacrificer has already acquired one new title and name by means of the mass sacrifice in the afternoon, he now, by this yet more holy act, acquires a second, this time of high rank, and, as he sacrifices, he calls out, in a loud voice so that all can hear, his new title together with his new name, saying "*Ne-haku* M . . .," "My name is M . . ."[3]

The victim is not eaten by the sacrificer but by a member of another village, most probably, as will be seen later, by the mother's brother.[4]

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 37.
[2] See p. 258.
[3] For new titles and names so taken, see pp. 431 ff.
[4] See p. 725. The only record I have is of boars sacrificed at Pete-hul being taken to Peter-ihi.

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Degrees of Hostility; Methods of Fighting; Weapons

If we return now to an examination of conditions prior to the arrival of the white man, we find the principle of self-preservation working in conjunction with the mutual hostility between the various moieties and sub-moieties well illustrated in the different methods of fighting and in the choice of weapons used. The chief weapons [1] used were the club, spear, bow and arrow, pitfalls made of sharp bamboo knives set crossing one another edgewise in pits covered with branches and leaves strewn over with earth, and poisoned human bone-tips (*wuh na ta-mat*) and nautilus shells with poisonous spines scattered at night along the paths. Slings, used in neighbouring islands as weapons, were not used in war by the Small Islanders, who made only miniature ones as toys for small boys.

I have already mentioned some of the causes leading to disputes, such as adultery or elopement, which, though sometimes settled amicably through the peaceable return of bride-price in the form of pigs, lead also on occasion to war if the returnable bride-price is not duly forthcoming. Other causes are insults of various kinds, which in turn bring forth counter-insults and in any case drag in their train recriminations based on disputes that may have smouldered for generations. Wars caused by the theft of pigs, so often referred to by white men, are rare, such thefts when they occur being, moreover, invariably but minor incidents in more fundamental disputes connected with complicated loan transactions or such matters as the non-return of bride-price just mentioned.

Disputes such as these may lead either to greater or to lesser wars, depending largely on the degree of kinship existing between the original disputants, and the same consideration determines the choice of weapons. The three relevant categories of kinship recognised throughout Melanesia hold also for the Small Islands. These are: [2]

(*a*) The members of a man's own clan, in this case the patrilocal village.

(*b*) The members of clans belonging to the same "tribe" or district, in this case the individual Small Island.

(*c*) The members of all groups outside the tribe, who are therefore actual or potential foes, in this case properly divisible into two sections, namely:

(i) the inhabitants of the remaining Small Islands and of the villages of the adjacent Malekulan mainland, with whom marriage relations exist, and all of whom therefore belong to one culture-complex;

[1] For detailed descriptions see Layard, 1, and Speiser, 3, pp. 205 ff. and Plates 50-61.
[2] See Wedgwood, 1, p. 8.

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made on these islands, especially on Oba, and so highly prized by the Small Islanders. For this reason, the visits more often than not pass off without untoward incident. But there is always the possibility that, lacking any kinship ties, the inhabitants, owing to some dispute over pigs, or some chance slight on their dignity, may turn hostile. So the Small Islanders always go fully armed, and place sentries round about the Lodge to warn them of possible danger.

Ambrim, East Malekula, Malo, Santo.

The same is true, to a slightly lesser extent, of expeditions to Ambrim, where they go also to trade in pigs, and to that part of the east coast of Malekula which is outside the Small Island cultural area as far south as Port Sandwich, which at the present day is the most southerly point to which voyages are made. It was from Unua, on this coast, that the natives of Vao obtained, by payment of pigs, the human victim sacrificed on the erection of a former *ghamal* at Pete-hul.[1] To the north, Malo and Santo are visited for the sake of obtaining the turmeric leaves used in the dying of the red mats manufactured in the Small Islands.[2] So far as I know, no initiation rite is practised by the Small Islanders on these islands, nor are there any special Lodges affording diplomatic immunity, and the Small Islanders have to rely on friendship and the self-interest of the inhabitants not to attack them.

INTRODUCTION OF FIREARMS BY EUROPEANS CAUSING WHOLESALE MASSACRES AND THE VIRTUAL EXTINCTION OF THE ONCE FLOURISHING POPULATION OF THE ADJACENT MALEKULAN MAINLAND

The last chapter in the chequered war history of these islands has reversed all precedents. This has been due to the introduction of muskets into the islands by white men. From the first arrival of the sandalwood traders about a century ago down to the present time the natives all over the group have been provided with shot-guns and rifles—all commonly referred to as muskets—which have been sold to them, partly in exchange for land or in return for coconuts or for direct payment in coin, and partly, in the early days apparently, out of a deliberate attempt to promote war for the sake of creating a demand for cartridges sold at exorbitant prices. The Condominium agreement of 1906 included a clause forbidding such sales, but the sales still go on. The result is that, for decades past, almost every adult male in the group, at any rate in the Small Islands and Malekula, has possessed a gun, and still does. Now that there is a

[1] See p. 451. [2] See p. 456.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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certain amount of control along the coastal regions, these weapons, while part of the normal equipment of the natives, as formerly were clubs and spears, do comparatively little damage. When they first appeared, however, it was but natural that the natives inhabiting the coastal districts, who had the first opportunity of acquiring them, were unable to resist the power thus put into their hands and used these new weapons not only against one another, but also against their traditional enemies further inland. These, lacking the means to defend themselves against this unknown and deadly form of attack, were in this way slaughtered in such numbers that it was impossible any more to equalise the number of dead. Whereas in the old days the number of dead in any given war was rarely more than two or three on either side, and, if the victors wanted peace, the discrepancy in numbers seldom demanded more than the sacrifice of one victim on their part, once muskets had been introduced the discrepancy became so great that all rules of warfare were abandoned, and wholesale massacres took place.

In this way, during the latter part of the nineteenth century the Small Islanders practically wiped out the whole population of what was once a flourishing district containing innumerable villages immediately inland from the adjacent Malekulan coast. The sites of these villages, including that of the mainland village of Tolamp, are now pointed out in what is thick jungle. Not only were the mainland villages thus decimated, however. The same tragedy occurred even in warfare between two Sides of each individual Small Island. The first villages to acquire muskets were in all cases those situated on the "Superior" Side of each Island, which, being in possession of the best beaches, were the first to come into contact with white men. These muskets they then used against the members of the other Side of their own Island, with the result that the villages on the "Inferior" Side were severely handled. This was the case with the two villages of Emil Marur and Emil Lep on Atchin, both of which were nearly wiped out.

The more far-seeing of the Small Islanders now bitterly regret these suicidal ravages which have so seriously reduced their numbers in face of the growing menace of the whites. But the measure of their regret still depends, however, on the degree of kinship ties between themselves and their victims. For, while muskets are now with common consent banned in warfare against their fellow Small Islanders, they are still used against the few remaining inhabitants of the adjacent mainland. Thus, no native will think of going to his garden on the mainland unless fully armed, and muskets are part of the normal equipment taken on every ceremonial visit to another Small Island, lest during the dance some hostile outbreak occur.[1]

[1] For the degrading influence of the musket on native warfare see also Wedgwood, 1, p. 33, and Harrisson, 2.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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PLATE XXIV

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1. Rain-stone used in the weather magic described on p. 635, of which two sides are carved to represent the human face, the third a shark, and the fourth (not seen in the illustration) a caterpillar

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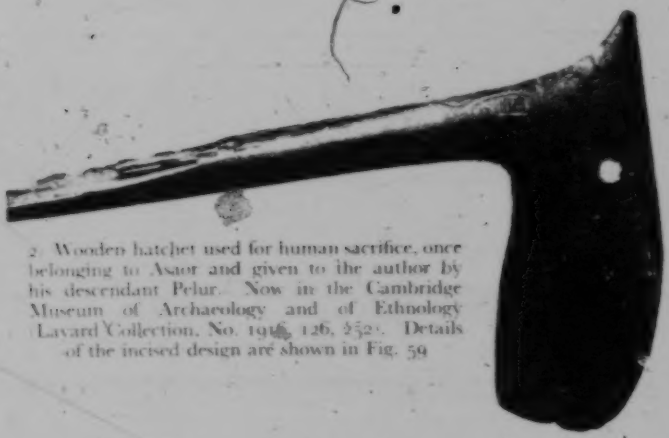

2. Wooden hatchet used for human sacrifice, once belonging to Asaor and given to the author by his descendant Pelur. Now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology Layard Collection, No. 1948. 126. $\frac{1}{2}$52. Details of the incised design are shown in Fig. 59

[facing p. 623]

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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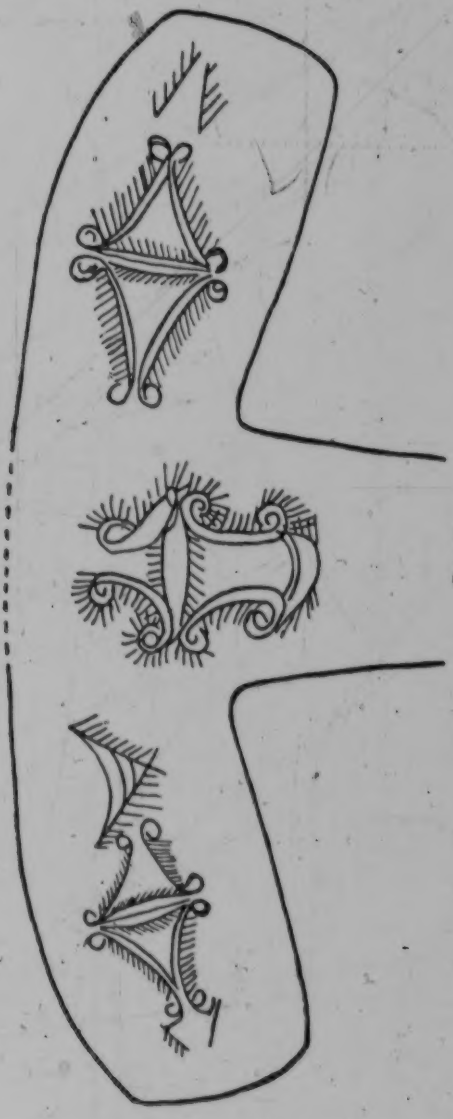

FIG. 59

Designs incised on the wooden hatchet used for human sacrifice figured in Plate XXIV.
The hatchet is single-bladed and made out of one piece of wood. The tracing shows the designs on either side of the blade and on the rounded back. The patterns are all carried out in the hatched technique used frequently in body painting. The three main designs, each consisting of two scrolled triangles set with their bases together, are said to represent lice (*no-hui*). The single hatched triangle represents the sail of a canoe.

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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B.S.Nambas

but there is a big range of inter-tribal difference; take several islands and the variety is great. Curved houses seem to be found only in south Malekula, Ureparapara of the Banks (*cf.* Speiser, 1913, Pl. 15), and the southern islands of the group, an extraordinary distribution. To understand the development and organization of the village only structurally, a full study of each particular unit is necessary.

Speiser (1913) has said something of the distribution of stone works. Stone pudding-basins are confined to Big Bay. I was interested in stone axes, of which I made a considerable collection. Remarkable stone basins, "witching-vats," are confined to Gaua, where Mrs. Baker and I also found a stone effigy (Baker, 1935). In one small area of south-west Santo, around the village of Tavua, the stone axes are entirely distinct from all others in the group, being very slender and long in relation to their breadth. Shell axes do not occur in Santo, but are common in Malekula; in the Big Nambas there are some ritual clubs that seem to be made out of fossilized squid's cuttles, very long and heavy.

War-clubs are curved only in north-east Santo; long stick clubs are confined to the northern islands; paddle clubs characteristic of Malekula are absent on Santo. The Santo and Malo bows are regularly arched; in south and east Malekula the concavity is uneven, greater in the lower half. Feathered spear shafts are apparently confined to north Malekula and islets; fearful spear-tips of serried human bones only in Santo. Feather-shafted arrows I have not seen in Santo, but Speiser reports them from Big Bay, and there are two without locality in the Cambridge Ethnological Museum; in certain *na-leng* dances of north Malekula, feathered arrows are used. Combs worn in the hair show wide pattern range; a triangular form I have only seen on Gaua, and ones with handles decorated by pigs' bristles are confined to Sakau, Santo.

The distribution of *kava* is curious. It has a very local usage in north Malekula, where it is chewed and spat into a trough; is not used in south Malekula; in Sakau, Santo, the stalk is chewed; elsewhere in Santo the root is chewed and spat out into coconut shells (only by chiefs in part of the north-west), except around Turi, where it is absent. In the eastern islands *kava* is generally used green, crushed with a stone pounder. On Malo it is seldom used unless in magical rites.

There is a fair uniformity in the type of mixed bisexual dances connected with the graded society; the musical instruments vary more. Pan-pipes are the most important in north-west Santo; though widespread, these are seldom used for dances elsewhere; they are semi-sacred in central Malekula; into Sakau and Malekula the pan-pipes have been recently introduced. On Malo and in east Santo bamboos beaten on the ground are the main dance accompaniment; the former type is close to a large flute figured by Speiser (1913, Pl. 108). The nose-flute is used in Sakau; musical bow in central-south Malekula. Slit gongs are always upright in the patrilineal central islands, reclined in the northern islands. Sticks tapped together have developed into a dance band in the Big Nambas. Bone knives are common in south Malekula, but nowhere else have I found one; wooden knives are absent in Malekula, crude in Malo and W. Santo, elaborate in the Banks Islands.